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No. 1731

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ALBANIA

HOXHA CRITICISM OF BUREAUCRACY EMPHASIZED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "Cleansing From Bureaucracy Must Be Always Performed in the Same Manner as Cleaning the Body"]

[Text] A few days ago, the working masses of our country received Volume 30 of the Works of comrade Enver, which contains materials covering the May-December 1965 period, and they are carefully studying it. In these materials, as in all other volumes of the Works of comrade Enver, the communists, the cadres and the workers find collected together the profound scientific analysis of the many problems, internal and international, of that period, by strongly relying on the principles of our immortal theory, Marxism-Leninism, and by implementing them in a creative manner under the concrete conditions of Albania.

In the wide range of issues which are examined in the documents of this volume, an important place is occupied by the guidelines of the Albanian Workers Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha for the further intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy. In materials like "Routine and Bureaucracy Must be Vigorously Eliminated," "Cleansing From Bureaucracy Must Be Always Performed in the Same Manner As Cleaning the Body," and so forth, is vividly presented the Marxist-Leninist dialectic analysis of comrade Enver exposing the ideological roots of bureaucracy as a type of thinking and behavior opposed to the interests of the working class and of the revolution, as a distorted method of work and management, as a manifestation of the comprehensive pressure of the class enemy. Moreover, we find in them a rich treasury of ideas and lessons drawn from our revolutionary experience and the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement, with great theoretical and practical values, for averting the danger of the bureaucratic degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat so that what happened in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries can never occur in our country.

Bureaucracy is one of the worst enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has been clearly confirmed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism,

who, at the same time, have drawn attention to the need to wage a resolute struggle against it. Our party has always correctly carried out the struggle against bureaucracy according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The party has taken a number of measures, such as those for narrowing the gap between authority and the people, for reducing in size the administrative apparatuses, for drawing the masses more actively into the governing of the country, for strengthening and improving the workers' and peasants' direct control, for placing the cadres under a twofold control, from above and from below, under the direct control of the masses, for uprooting the spirit of bureaucratic hierarchy and democratizing life in the army, and so forth. All these measures have continually strengthened the proletarian dictatorship of the proletariat, have deepened the democratic character of our people's authority, have strengthened the ties of the party and the government with the people, have made the party-people unity more monolithic and more unbreakable. But despite the successes, the struggle against bureaucracy remains always timely. Therefore, comrade Enver stresses that "bureaucracy must be continuously cleansed, in the same manner in which the body of a person is cleaned, not once a year but daily, otherwise it will become filthy."

While stressing the importance of understanding the danger which bureaucracy poses and the need to wage a prolonged struggle against it, comrade Enver, in the documents of Volume 30, defines the tasks for the party organizations and their links, the mass organizations, the state and economic organs, in thoroughly grasping the danger of bureaucracy and how it is manifested, in dealing with and exposing all its aspects, and in particular, in seizing and opposing that which is essential. Because what happens? One notices in the daily life that some people maintain a narrow attitude toward the bureaucrat and bureaucracy. The bureaucrat is considered only as a person who locks himself in the "ivory tower," in the office, who is occupied with paperwork, and bureaucracy is seen only as something which is expressed by the multitude of memos, by fruitless meetings, the solution of problems in the office, inflated staffs and so forth. They too are expressions of the bureaucrat and of bureaucracy, but the issues must be seen more deeply, in their roots and in the philosophy of this phenomenon. It is important and essential to expose and to oppose the political-ideological concepts which form the bureaucrat and which constitute the core of bureaucracy. What are they? Comrade Enver provides the answer when he says that these concepts are idealistic, reactionary, anti-revolutionary, anti-Marxist, inspired by the ideology of the exploiting, feudal, bourgeois classes which use them as weapons to rule the people's masses, to suppress them and to subdue them. Without exposing them and without continuously and resolutely opposing in all their manifestations the concepts which form the bureaucrat and bureaucracy, the cleansing of bureaucracy would be only superficial." If we do not solve this task correctly and properly--comrade Enver points out--we will not have solved anything, and the whole effort would be nothing but a straw fire."

The core of bureaucracy is to keep the working masses as far as possible from the state management of the society, something which is a necessary

characteristic of any exploiting order, and in particular of the capitalist state order. Bureaucracy and the bureaucrats, the party teaches us, are the enemies of the people, of the party and of the people's authority. They try to distort the profoundly democratic character of people's authority and of our entire socialist order, they do not take into account the voice of the masses, their thoughts and their criticisms, they are inclined to codify everything in detail and to impose themselves on the masses arrogantly and authoritatively as people who are "turned into concrete" by authority. Through their concepts and actions the bureaucrats give "civil rights" to tutelage and to the tendency to take away the initiative of lower organs in carrying out their assigned rights, they try to place the executive organs above the elected organs, to render ineffective revolutionary laws and orders, to fail to give account to the masses, to evade the control of the masses, and so forth. All these cracks in the party-people unity which constitutes the key to our victories, cultivate in the masses apathy and indifference. This is why comrade Enver has stated "that routine and bureaucracy must be swept away with an iron broom."

Comrade Enver also severely criticizes the bureaucratic practices of inflating staffs, the unnecessary increase of the number of non-productive workers which cause bureaucracy, the increase in paper work, the solving of problems through meetings and apart from living contact with the people, and so forth. It is noticed in practice that when a new task is presented for solution, the first thought and action of the people who suffer from bureaucratic concepts, is to increase the staffs and apparatuses. Therefore, of great importance in the first place, is the matter of thoroughly understanding and properly implementing the party's recommendation to reduce as much as possible the number of non-productive workers, not only and not simply to keep down the expenses of the apparatus (this has its great importance), but especially to deepen the democratic character of our people's authority. "We--stresses comrade Enver--will base ourselves on the good and bad experience which we have had so far; in the revolutionary spirit to make the organisms living, militant, operational, not inflated and heavy, not imposing in form, but effective in substance..." For this purpose, the party has devoted special care to the continuous growth of the role of the representative organs of the authority, as organs which exercise the will and the sovereignty of the people, the better utilization of elected people, and the broad involvement of the masses in governing the country.

The party has always waged a great and uncompromising struggle against bureaucracy. In 1966, the entire people rose to their feet, headed by the working class, under the leadership of the party, and a series of important measures were taken, of great theoretical and practical value, for the further revolutionizing of the party, of the government and of the entire life of the country. The successes achieved were great. These achievements were further deepened in 1975, when again, under the party leadership, the working class and the working masses rose to their feet to put a strong break to bureaucracy, for the further revolutionizing of the state apparatus, by reducing the inflated staffs and so forth. This experience must be

always evaluated correctly and realistically, and must be efficiently utilized for the uninterrupted and resolute development of the struggle against bureaucracy.

In the materials of Volume 30 of the Works, comrade Enver devotes particular attention to the revolutionizing of the work method and style, in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy. "We must view this problem, --admonishes comrade Enver,--in a correct Marxist way."

The work style and method are not valid once and for all. They change, develop and become richer in accordance with the new conditions and tasks. To have always a revolutionary Leninist work method and style, free of bureaucratic practices, as is pointed out also in the materials of this volume, it is necessary to study profoundly the revolutionary science of the party, to assimilate the dialectical materialist outlook in close union with revolutionary practice, with the problems which remain to be solved, to reflect correctly in every instance on the political-ideological content of the guidelines of the party, to better generalize the experience of the working masses, to tackle fundamental issues, key problems and to know how to approach our long-term work.

Comrade Enver treats the relationship between the party and the government as closely connected with the revolutionizing of the work method and style. The party is the sole leading force of the state and of the entire life of our society. In this issue of decisive importance, no duality whatever is allowed--and our party has not permitted this nor will it ever permit this. The slightest weakening of the party leadership role is wrought with dangerous consequences for our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By pointing out this Marxist-Leninist lesson, the justness and vitality of which have been proven in practice, comrade Enver criticizes at the same time those instances when the party assumes the rights of the government and vice versa, the instances when the government assumes the rights of the party.

Here, attention should be given to the valuable recommendations of comrade Enver for the earliest coordination in every instance of the party-government tasks. Comrade Enver says that all, both the party workers and the government workers, go to the village for specified problems. The government worker has his own powers and is interested in and will be interested in governmental matters. This is the main thing for him. But when he goes to the village, he will find the ground prepared for his work by the earlier work done by the basic party organization. But the party worker too, in order to do the work well, must also know the economic situation of the area where he has been sent, otherwise he will do a formal and bureaucratic work. The principal task of the party worker in this connection is, naturally, to make the party militant for the fulfillment of the tasks which also concern the state. Therefore, comrade Enver stresses later, "we must coordinate as soon as possible every instance the party-government tasks, to decide as soon as possible why we are going to the base, and to make all the necessary preparations, so that when we go, for example, to an agricultural cooperative, we can avoid the situation where one hits the nail and the other the horse-shoe..."

The struggle against bureaucracy is a class struggle. It will be a prolonged struggle because bureaucracy has deep roots, is related to economic, social and ideological factors and is instigated by the most diverse types of enemies, internal and external. This struggle will never cease and as long as classes and the class struggle exist, it will be continuous. The struggle cannot be waged through general slogans and dull lectures. The practical struggle not stale theories, and concrete measures are fundamental. The party organizations and under their leadership, the mass organizations, the state and economic organs, as the materials of this volume stress, are obligated to make broad working masses aware and make them rise up, to expose and fight one by one bureaucratic manifestations, in every link and form which they appear, to launch them into revolutionary action so as to bring bureaucracy under control. The party organizations, all the communists, it is stressed in this volume, must be always and everywhere at the head of this battle of vital importance for the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Volume 30 of comrade Enver's Works, through the rich materials which it provides for the further intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy, through the valuable and topical lessons which we find collected in it, through their delineation on the basis of a broad living practice, constitutes another powerful ideological weapon for all the communists, cadres and all the workers of our country.

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SHORTCOMINGS OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Merkur Alimerko: "Life, School and Textbooks"]

[Text] The further improvement of textbooks has been and remains one of the basic and permanent tasks of our school, because, together with the educational programs and plans, they are its basic documents. To fulfill this important task in the best way possible, a great concern has been shown for preserving ideological purity in the textbooks and for reflecting in them the theoretical idea of the party and the experience of building socialism in a broader, deeper and more suitable and organic way. It is necessary to reflect in a better and proper manner the studies made in these fields, especially in the textbooks on "Elementary concepts of Marxism-Leninism" and social textbooks, such as those on history, literature and other subjects, in conformity with the age and the learning capabilities of students. Thus, the history textbooks will include the conclusions of the 100th anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren, the materials of the scientific session for the problems of world development today, the various studies of the Ministry of Education and Culture and so forth. During the review process, the correct principled struggle of our party against the ill-famed theories of the "three worlds" and of "Mao Zedong's ideas" will be reflected in these textbooks; the denunciation of these theories is a new and great contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The textbooks of moral and political education are of particular importance for the education of the new generation. Now that new textbooks will be written, on the basis of revised programs, there is room for further improvements, especially in connection with the broader conception and the more complete handling of the problems concerning citizens' education, norms of the socialist society, and the perfection of the positive traditions that are characteristic of our people and so forth, taking into consideration the students' age, and the concepts and norms that they learn through other subjects. A number of problems are to be solved regarding the further improvement of textbooks on social, historical, geographical, economic,

literary and artistic subjects, on the Albanian language, folklore, and so forth. However, the main thing is the further strengthening of their national character by better solving the problem of the relationship between the foreign and the national, between the past and the present.

Work is being done on the natural and technical sciences textbooks so that we might give them a better foundation in dialectical materialistic theory, in accordance with the specific nature of the subject and the category of schools, in order to interpret facts, events, and processes by means of the much improved scientific material of the present day, so that they will help in the formation of students' outlook and in enabling them to correctly and thoroughly learn the general laws of development.

The authors and workers of the editorial staff of the School Book Publishing House are making positive efforts to better reflect, in the textbooks on vocational subjects, the articles, equipment, machinery and devices, the types of social and cultural houses and buildings, and the industrial, cultural and agricultural constructions and so forth which have been produced and built by the golden hands of our working class and cooperative peasantry. The work methods, technological and agricultural processes and the technique of exploiting and administering forests being implemented by production enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, factories, plants and combines are taking the place they deserve in the textbooks, along with the experience of our country in the field of organization, planning and finances, and explaining their political, economic and social contents. Nevertheless, the level which we have achieved in the general culture textbooks has not yet been reached in the technical and vocational textbooks. The authors of these materials in general have insufficient ideological experience. Creative license has been legalized for the authors who teach, but the authors who are specialists in production do not yet have this right; they need to have more knowledge about the methods for the presentation of materials in the textbooks.

Another important problem is the linking of the various types of scientific information in the textbooks with military information. In this direction, some effort has been made in the existing textbooks through lessons, exercises and problems from the military domain. But, these efforts are few and, in many textbooks, they do not exist at all. This is a result of a lack of proper knowledge about the people's military technology and art by the authors and workers of the editorial staffs, a fact that dictates the need for close cooperation with the military schools.

While revising the textbooks our attention is also concentrated on removing the overloading [of textbooks] that is noted today, but always without affecting their ideological, scientific and methodical level. This will make it possible to avoid duplication and unnecessary repetitions in the various textbooks and, in some cases, any unsurmountable difficulty which affects the real tasks of the students. The problem of the relationship between subjects and the assignment of tasks to the students remain two acute duties on which we must concentrate more thoroughly during the revising of the textbooks and programs on these subjects.

The successful implementation of all these tasks requires that study and research work be organized systematically so that, through organized studies, the quantity of scientific information to be given to students, in accordance with the cycles, age, specialty and so forth, will be determined in a precise and scientific manner. Here, it is necessary to see that the contents of the textbooks fully corresponds to the level of knowledge achieved by the relevant sciences in our country and in the world. So far, the Institute for Pedagogical Studies has not produced any complete study on these matters, knowing that this gap is at the same time a gap in the textbooks. In overcoming these difficulties, we will aim at stabilizing textbooks for a longer period, for at least 4-5 years.

For objective reasons, textbooks do not follow the rapid development of life in our country and remain behind it. Therefore, the teacher, during his teaching hour, must fill these gaps created as a result of fresh scientific data and data on the current situation. Besides this, there is another road, that of the publication of additional materials as an aid to teachers and students. For this, the editorial staffs of the School Book Publishing House have drafted 3-year plans for auxiliary publications. For this school year, about 30 titles of auxiliary publications for teachers, kindergarten teachers and students have been or will be put in circulation; the majority of them are for the middle schools of general education. Such auxiliary publications are greatly needed by the middle vocational schools, especially, for those specializing in agriculture, where many skilled workers of the district pedagogical bureaus can be employed.

Now the School Book Publishing House is preparing for the improved publication of textbooks. The Ministry of Education and Culture is taking measures to collect ideas and suggestions about the existing textbooks in an organized manner. Last year they started experiments, studies and observations for a 2-year period on about 480 textbooks of the 8-year and middle schools in some specified schools in cities and villages, in all districts. However, it must be admitted that the problem of experimentation, study and observation of the textbooks was not evaluated with the necessary seriousness during the past year by some sections of education and culture in the districts. In some districts, such as Berat, Lezhe, Shkoder and Vlore, inexperienced teachers or teachers who are teaching for the first time have been assigned to teach biology, mathematics, history and other subjects. Manifestations of underestimation have also been observed in the organization of consultations and in the submitting of the conclusions of the studies of the first year. Some sections have sent partial reports or have sent none at all. The Ministry of Education and Culture must pay attention to the situation and measures must be taken so that this work for the new school year will begin in a better organized manner, will be systematically carried out by the schools designated and will be successfully concluded.

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CHARTER 77 DESCRIBED BY BELGIAN CP JOURNAL

Opposition in Czechoslovakia

Brussels RODE VAAN in Dutch 23 Aug 79 pp 3, 4

[Article: "Charter 77: A Profile;" passages in slantlines printed in boldface.]

[Text] "For a number of years I have been prevented from practicing my profession of physician. Books, magazines and newspapers from the principal West European communist parties hardly ever get here. Letters arrive here with delay, irregularly, or not at all. My telephone has been cut off and my passport has been confiscated, so that I cannot travel. For a year now, two uniformed agents have been stationed at the door of my apartment. Day and night they control and note the identity of every visitor, including the time of arrival and departure . . ." (MUNDO OBRERO, daily paper of the Spanish Communist Party).

These are the words of Frantisek Kriegel, member of the presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party under Dubcek, resistance fighter during the war and fighter on the side of the republicans in the Spanish civil war. Today RUDE PRAVO calls him an /"international adventurer"/ (RUDE PRAVO 12/1/77). That is not by coincidence. Frantisek Kriegel has experienced everything from close up. The "adventurous" trip to Moscow on the night of the invasion, the signing of the protocol there and the legalization of the "temporary" presence of the Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia. Kriegel refused to sign both that protocol and that legalization. In 1969 he was expelled from the party.

Political Repression

The above description which Frantisek Kriegel gives of his situation unfortunately is not an isolated fact in today's Czechoslovakia. During the last 2 years more and more reports have been reaching us that former supporters of Dubcek and a new generation of opponents are being intimidated, persecuted and prevented from making a living due to their political

opinions and their political past. Kriegel happens to be one of those "fortunate ones" remaining in "protective custody." Others of lower status -- journalists, critics, academicians -- have been less fortunate and remain behind bars. That is not coincidental either. Fear of a reaction of public opinion keeps the leaders of the "Prague Spring" from being affected. Bilak, secretary of the Central Committee, in 1972: /We are not foolish enough to want to convict Dubcek and the others and thus to give them the opportunity to attack us. Isolating them suffices. But we will primarily attack the middle cadres, the journalists and the intellectuals. No one will defend them: everyone is fed-up with those people./

Bilak's claim unfortunately turned out to be quite true. Already in '72, 46 people were convicted, some of them sentenced to 6½ years imprisonment. Among them Milan Hubi, formerly the rector of the party school, and the former secretary of the South Bohemian Communist Party, Jaroslav Sabata. Sabata's martyrdom serves as an example. Upon being released early, he almost immediately became active in Charter 77, of which he became the official spokesman for a while after the death of Jan Patocha. Not for long, however, for in the fall of last year Sabata was imprisoned once again because of contacts with the Polish Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). In May of this year he got slapped with the remaining 18 months of his '72 sentence. At that point the KPB joined the appeal of the 1-May Committee for the immediate release of Sabata.

"VONS"

Besides Sabata, 10 other signatories of Charter 77 are standing trial at this time. All are active in the "Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Detained Persons" (VONS). As such they are rather ridiculously accused of "subversive activities," be it in connection with foreign countries or not. The trial is being prepared in judicially very shady circumstances. The lawyer of Charter 77, Joseph Danisz, was struck from the Prague bar at the end of June. He is being charged with having stated to the investigating judge in the Sabata case that he knew of cases in which persons had been struck during a police hearing (the official indictment reads: insulting an agent in public service).

Danisz is also being charged with having recalled the memories of the Stalinist trials from the fifties before a court a few months ago.

The 10 Charter activists now will be defended by lawyers appointed by the Czechoslovak authorities. Until now they have been able to meet with their clients only twice, and then in the presence of policemen or in such a manner that the perusal of documents was impossible. The accused and their families were not able to inspect the dossiers.

International judicial protest has arisen against that course of events. Three French communist lawyers have been approached by Danisz to defend him on appeal. They assert: /"The persecutions and that professional ban signify a serious attack on the rights of defense and a new violation of human rights."/

From within French judicial circles steps were indeed taken for the defense of Charter activists. The necessary entry visa and visiting rights were refused.

With the pending trials and the caricature of a fair administering of justice coupled with it, it may be assumed that Czechoslovakia is entering a new phase of intensified political repression. Actually, that was already predictable by the extremely severe reaction of the government at the time Charter 77 originated. The movement suddenly appeared to be capable of gathering and organizing the isolated protest of the previous years. The alarm was sounded and the clock was immediately set back by 30 years. RUDE PRAVO of 14/1/77: /"The issue is an insulting pamphlet which was transmitted by a group of people from the ranks of the bankrupt, reactionary Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and from the ranks of the discredited organizers of the counter-revolution in '68 to certain agencies in the West, at the order of anti-communist and zionist centers. People who in reality are agents of imperialism, like Meynar, Kriegel, Hajek, Patocha . . . "/

With such a strong piece of literature one can only wonder who precisely is recalling the memory of the fifties: Danisz, or the party leadership itself. Thus it is time to set the record straight and to create some order in some confused minds. Zdenek Mlynar and Jiri Hajek are not agents of imperialism but were, respectively, secretary of the Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs under Dubcek. Nor is Charter 77 a subversive movement which is trying to break up the socialist state and plotting with foreign countries.

Then what kind of movement is Charter 77, who are the activists in it and what objectives do they have; those are the questions the communist press in the West also has to give attention to, so that the elementary rights of the opposition continue to be safeguarded. The case of socialism was not in danger in 1968, but it was in the year 1979--in the hearts of the Czechoslovak youth.

Non-Ideological Character

At the end of '76 a number of rock musicians were tried in Czechoslovakia. Their defense was taken up immediately by various (clandestine) political groups, but also, for example, by the Spanish and Italian communists. From the campaign for the release of the musicians and against the disregard for the most elementary rules of justice, Charter 77 was born. Initially the movement had a non-ideological character. Charter 77 primarily desired to bring to public notice individual cases of flagrant violation of constitutional and democratic rights and, on that basis, possibly call forth a dialogue with the government. The latter, however, reacted extremely callously and in the purest bureaucratic manner -- as the reader has been able to judge for himself. The entire party apparatus was set in motion in order to have the movement condemned in all sorts of meetings. The basis of the case wasn't -- and until this moment hasn't been -- discussed.

The clumsy and panicky reaction of the party presidium furnished Charter with the publicity it needed so badly. In 1 year around 1,000 signatures were collected, 1/3 of which came from workers. The Charter document however struck a particularly responsive chord in numerous youths, intellectuals, former party cadres and people who previously had occupied important positions in the economic, cultural and social areas. That is not very surprising. After all, ½ million party members -- including no doubt the cream of the population -- had been drained away. After '68 around 40 percent of the "economic" functionaries, 40 percent of all journalists, 1500 employees of the Czechoslovak radio and 9000 teachers lost their jobs. Their children are still being grossly discriminated against until this very day.

It is within this type of distorted social dispensation that the action of Charter 77 must be understood. Since 1977, Charter has been systematically reporting every political arrest or conviction. Whether it is a matter of cultural, syndical or political repression, cases of professional bans, physical aggression or dubious judicial procedures, the Charter activists are always around to expose, often very precisely, the arbitrariness of the Czechoslovak authorities.

Political Impact

But Charter 77 is more than merely a human rights movement. Although initially it was set up as such, various currents from the political opposition in Czechoslovakia quickly crystallized themselves around Charter. The movement involuntarily acquired more of a political profile through that, and the political impact did not fail to materialize. One and the other also resulted from the fact that attempts were being made to open new horizons. Thus Charter launched out with a dossier on unions, in an attempt to forge a bridge to the working population. That procedure was once again repeated last May with a study on the socio-economic situation in Czechoslovakia. With that, the bull's-eye was apparently hit: barely a few days after the publication of the document the VONS activists were arrested.

Whether it is a coincidence or not, it is clear to us that if Charter continues on that path, that is to say with the publication of dossiers which touch upon the daily reality of citizens, it has to fear even more severe repression. The not too-rosy looking economic situation in Czechoslovakia, with the recent price increases and the unrest among the population, forms a sufficient breeding ground for the political ideas which are carried out with continually greater cohesion and stubbornness by part of the Charter activists.

The merits of Charter 77 indeed exist on the latter level. To start up again the politicizing process in a country as strongly depoliticized as Czechoslovakia, is not a slight matter. The Charter activists are doing that in a definitely exemplary manner. In spite of the difficult circumstances under which one has to work, one is trying to give a possible structure to the political discussion within the movement, via a system of internal bulletins.

That is indeed necessary, for Charter is far from being a politically homogeneous movement. In it one finds convinced democrats, Christians, Dubcek supporters, communists and "leftist communists" or Trotskyist revolutionary socialists. Further, it has been agreed that certain groups with similar political sympathies within the movement can publish documents on their own initiative. In April '78, for example, a group of signatories published a curious blueprint for Czechoslovak socialism under the title "100 Years of Czechoslovak Socialism."

RUDE PRAVO

We had a discussion on the situation in Czechoslovakia with Miel Dewilde, member of the Central Committee of the KPB and a regular visitor to Czechoslovakia since the beginning of the seventies. The experiences which Miel Dewilde has gathered in the course of time are disclosed in this interview. The point of departure of the discussion was a number of propositions from the most recent social-economic report of Charter 77 (mentioned in the article).

The findings of this report were unexpectedly confirmed 2 weeks ago by a commentary in RUDE PRAVO in which certain leading individuals in industry and in the government apparatus were sharply criticized. There are problems in the economy and they must not only be noted, but also solved, stated RUDE PRAVO. The existence of differences of opinion at the party top on the economic strategy to be followed definitely breaks to the surface with that. It may even be assumed that those differences of opinion also involve the fate of the political opposition. The interview below thus arrives just in time.

What Type Solidarity?

Charter 77 during the past 2 years has regularly solicited the support of Eurocommunist parties. In doing so, they referred to the political credo of those parties, as unambiguously formulated since the Berlin Conference of '76: socialism and democracy are tied to each other inseparably.

In spite of that, Charter 77 has not always had the desired response. Thus a message directed to the 23rd congress of the French communists was not even submitted to the congress participants, nor included in l'HUMANITE. Then some 20 activists asked the party leadership to break through the framework of the "ritual" condemnation of the violation of human rights and to mobilize the party around Charter through a declaration of the Political Bureau. And that to be done according to the example of the Spanish communists who since '68 have not wished to maintain any official contact whatsoever with the Czechoslovak Communist Party and who open their press to the documents of Charter signatories.

The Spanish communists, in our view, are putting solidarity with the persecuted activists in a correct perspective. Charter 77 needs not only our moral and financial support. The socialist opponents within the movement also need political and ideological solidarity. The socialist ideal envisioned by Hajek, Krieger, Pelican and Mlynar hardly differs from ours. That's why.

Didn't RUDE PRAVO write at the end of last year: "Eurocommunism is a parasite on the body of the revolutionary movement." With whom exactly do we declare solidarity?

KPB Member Interviewed

Brussels RODE VAAN in Dutch 23 Aug 79 p 4

[Interview with Miel Dewilde: "Negative Balance Still Tips the Scale"]

[Text] [Question] To get to the point right away; Charter 77 claims that the domestic market in Czechoslovakia shows serious defects, both with respect to the quality and quantity of products. Supposedly shady practices occur rather often under the counter. How do you react to that?

M.D.: That is right to a large extent. Certain products can hardly ever be obtained, or with difficulty. That has been the case for years already and I don't notice any progress in the supply of many products. It is certain that bartering is going on under the counter, although not always for every product in every store. When I was in Czechoslovakia this summer, certain products (children's shoes for example) could not be found before the price increases. The day after the price increases the same products could already be found in the stores. The principle in Czechoslovakia is to buy something not when one needs it, but when it is in stock. In Czechoslovakia one can never say: "I am going to shop and I will buy such and such an article."

[Question] According to what you say, there is also a question of corruption, and not only in the sphere of consumer articles, but also in the health sector and in education, to enter the university for example. Is that right?

M.D.: At this moment signs are regularly displayed in hospitals with the words: "Don't bribe doctors." That is not by coincidence. That is because it is common knowledge that paying bribes to physicians (and academic institutions) is general practice. I am not saying that one is given bad care if one does not do it, but a certain psychosis has arisen which indicates that it is better to do it anyway. It is a practice which -- I could almost say -- has become an institution.

It is curious, however, that whereas in our country corruption occurs at the highest levels, in Czechoslovakia it thrives in daily life, at the level of ordinary human relations. We don't give special money to the butcher to get good meat. In Czechoslovakia one does. In my opinion that is related to the fact that a decent way of expressing and organizing protest is non-existent in Czechoslovakia. Those who occupy certain positions of power in department stores, hospitals and academic institutions sometimes also occupy important party positions. A matter of democracy thus. Moreover, a centralized policy also appears to be accompanied by the fact that those who occupy the central posts, /know/ [in italics] somehow that they have power and then they do indeed use it. That is a matter which must be investigated both on an economic- and political level.

[Question] Back to the price increases of which you spoke. Those appear to cut deeply into the citizen's pocketbook -- in all Eastern European countries, for that matter. How does that stand for Czechoslovakia?

M.D.: Before the price increases, I already had the impression that the standard of living was certainly not increasing. Now -- after the price increases -- one can easily say that the standard of living is decreasing. To the person who travels through Czechoslovakia as a tourist everything seems very cheap, but in order to know what a certain price means to the Czechoslovak, you must multiply that price by 10 to 12. The amount you arrive at then is the amount this or that product would cost here in Belgium, with our purchasing power. An example: A liter of super gasoline now costs 7.5 koruny in Czechoslovakia. To calculate that in Belgian francs, you multiply that by 4. The salaries there are one third as high as here so that, to the Czechoslovak, it is as if he spends $7.5 \times 4 \times 3$. That means that we in Belgium would pay about 85 francs per liter. Then I sometimes wonder: How is one able to survive in Czechoslovakia?

That of course brings into question an entire series of views on the road to socialism and on socialist countries. For 40 to 50 years we thought that they -- in the socialist countries -- would progress faster than we here and would continually have an economically better- and politically freer life. We determine that things are not going better in either area and that the crisis about which we have been talking already for 5 years in the West is expressing itself more sharply over there than here. Of course the government over there has means at its disposal which the government here does not have. And I do not believe that we should be proud of those means.

[Question] Charter 77 laments the fact that as a result of the "disorder, waste and lack of planning" a tendency toward indifference and individualism is manifesting itself in the Czechoslovak worker. Is that your experience also?

M.D.: There are two means of escape in Czechoslovakia. I said so 2 years ago, and I stand by that. There is escape to nature. There is escape into the circle of family and friends. And there is escape into corruption, the good life, a house, a piece of land . . .

There is general political disinterest in Czechoslovakia. No one attaches any importance to elections, for example. I know people who lived in Czechoslovakia until age 25 and who only at that time, when they came here to the West, found out that parties other than communist existed, because I told them so. That also gives some idea on the practical existence of those parties.

[Question] Do you have memories of the Dubcek period? Political interest was significantly greater at that time.

M.D.: I lived through the end of the Dubcek period and still saw photographs of Dubcek hanging in dozens of places, on windows and walls. I can not speak for that period. But I have talked about it with other people; at that time there was broad political interest.

[Question] A number of supporters of Dubcek, however, have had quite a bit of trouble during the past years. How do you judge that repression?

M.D.: It certainly is not as bad any more as previously, in the fifties. The vanishing of people without a trace and shooting them down is no longer part of things. Now the opposition is being hit subtly: children can no longer go to the university or must halt their studies, people are degraded or cannot be promoted, etc. For those who had involved themselves deeply in the party at the time of Dubcek, it is a very bad matter, and often a familial tragedy. I am not surprised that there are people who come to the West.

The current regime is a hard regime, but I would not call it a Stalinist regime. If one is against the regime now, it makes a difference whether one got involved or not. In the fifties, being against the regime, even without getting involved, was already enough to get into difficulties. Now that is not so much the case. They would have to detain a large part of the population.

[Question] At the beginning of this discussion you already touched lightly on the fact that there are practically no channels for expressing protest. Is any resistance being offered by the unions in Czechoslovakia?

M.D.: One must not expect political opposition from the Czechoslovak trade unions. I know people who have attended union meetings on Charter 77, at which they were asked to condemn that movement. Reaction of the workers: We are prepared to vote on condemnation, but let us first read the original text (of Charter 77). Response of the syndical speaker: "No, no, that would make the matter much worse still."

In Czechoslovakia there is a form of syndicalism we do not know here. The people I know and who really have become syndically conscious, have got to know syndical activities by coming to live in the West. They were surprised about the power the trade unions have over here. It is wrong to reason that there is public proprietorship of the means of production over there, so why would they strike against themselves? There are reasons enough to strike.

[Question] In Czechoslovakia a generation is growing up at this moment which hardly knew the events of '68. How do they stand?

M.D. : To start, there is a sort of "double" education in Czechoslovakia: that which is said at home and in your circle of friends, and that which you get to hear officially at school. The same is true for teachers; they say A at school and B somewhere else. The big crisis -- as I have been able to observe in a number of youths, starts at age 16/17. At that time, everything falls apart. I cannot imagine how the youth in Czechoslovakia can find any hope. And one cannot look for political interest in them. If you ever speak with a Czechoslovak who has political interest and defends the regime, then it is almost certainly someone who wants to get ahead.

[Question] Do you have a final observation?

M.D.: It is not unpleasant to live in Czechoslovakia if one really is not politically-minded, if one does not pay much attention to politics. Czechoslovakia is a country for living, with beautiful forests and mountains. And one can also try to live without corruption. One can also score points in the struggle for democracy. It is not as if the bureaucracy or the party-member wins all the time. There are also very pleasant moments in Czechoslovakia. However, at this moment the negative balance tips the scale.

8700
CSO: 3105

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VALUE OF CSSR'S URANIUM PRODUCTION CALCULATED

Rome LISTY in Czech No 4, Sep 79 p 24

[Text] Section 5.2 of Charter 77 document No 36, entitled "Teze o Spotrebe" ("Dissertations on Consumer Production"), mentions that information on the export of uranium is not available. Because this is a significant factor in the total balance of Czechoslovak export, we submitted this question to various West German experts. The following emerged from their answers:

Uranium may be exported from Czechoslovakia only to the Soviet Union. The prices are set for a period of five years and are computed on the basis of the necessary costs of mining plus a certain percentage of profit, about 10 percent. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union share equally the costs of geological exploration for uranium. Czechoslovakia fully finances all induced investments, i.e., the construction of roads, housing, etc.

In 1960 through 1973, during the crisis of uranium mining in the West, the Soviet Union did not curtail its import and thus maintained also the mining of uranium in Czechoslovakia at a high level. At that time the export of uranium to the West would have been profitable only for the Pribram mines and the Vitskov II mine that jointly accounted for about 65 percent of the total uranium mined in our country.

From 1973 to date the prices rose from between 5 and 7 dollars per pound of U_3O_8 , which is between 12.5 and 17.5 dollars per kilogram of uranium in the chemical concentrate, to between 40 and 45 dollars per pound of U_3O_8 , which is between 100 and 112.5 dollars per kilogram of uranium in the chemical concentrate.

If under these conditions the Czechoslovak uranium mines were exporting to the West, they would be highly profitable. The estimates of all the experts to whom we submitted this problem varied around several hundred million dollars a year, but most often within the range of 300 to 500 million dollars. The Soviet Union expropriated the export of uranium to the West and is already exporting it, although the mere indication of such an idea was punishable as treason in Bohemia and Moravia not so long ago, by lengthy imprisonment.

It is entirely absurd, of course, to calculate any effectiveness of Czechoslovak trade with the Soviet Union. For the Soviet Union arbitrarily decides Czechoslovakia's armament, and hence also the purchasing of arms from the Soviet Union and their prices. Succinctly, even if the Soviet Union were unable to pay, it could order us to buy scores of MIGs, perhaps already obsolescent for them, and 200 tanks; and the annual uranium output would be offset.

Besides the system of the economy's conditioned inefficiency, arms prescribed by the Soviet leadership are the main reason for the impoverishment of the Czechoslovak people, and not even the best possible economic reform can alter this.

1014
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INCREASED TRADE UNION ACTIVITY URGED

Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Oct 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Moving Force"]

[Text] The great exactingness of the economic tasks at the close of this year and next year is making extraordinary demands on the trade unions' activity. As a consequence, it is necessary, as emphasized by the seventh plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions, to improve the style and methods of work in all organs and organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. However, only critical analysis of the activity will reveal outdated phenomena as well as phenomena which should be maintained, and those which deserve maximum attention, thus enabling the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to carry out its co-responsibility for fulfillment of the party's economic and social program with honor.

Despite the fact that basic organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement have increased their share in production development as well as in improvement of working and living conditions in recent years, nowhere do they have reason for the self-satisfaction which has been demonstrated during numerous aktivs of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement plant committee chairmen. For instance, they have emphasized the level of socialist competition in their plants and have reported on the contribution of the well organized production councils in the Prague-West Okres, and not only there. However, from the tenor of several contributions it was obvious that production consultations are held mainly in order to inform collectives on future tasks, whereas the initiative in establishing competition is primarily represented by work pledges for extra shifts. From this point of view, one could easily assume that everything is in order in the plant, and nothing is to be improved, in spite of the fact that reality is different, as K. Malcova and other participants emphasized during the Central Council of Trade Unions' plenary session.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement's plant committees which see the reasons for the present production problems only in supplier-consumer relations or in the fact that their enterprise did not obtain requested investment resources, are judging their own work in an equally uncritical vein. They are acting as if no problems existed in production organization and management, at the level of production consultation, in the membership sessions, or in executing suggestions and improvement proposals.

Simultaneously, criticism and self-criticism constitute the moving force at the beginning of anything new and progressive. It accelerates more than technological development. It has been the self-critical evaluation of the level of competition and pledges within the union sector which has persuaded a collective of workers assembling filling machines at the Chotebor Engineering Works to reach a decision to repair within the guarantee period on the consumer's premises any trouble with equipment which is their fault. Even travel is paid for by them. Trade unionists in many localities have applied a more exacting analysis of internal union life and they have become aware that the production consultations with the participation of 50 or more people have only low effectiveness. An organization of this size is too large to allow everyone to voice his opinion of the matter under discussion. As a consequence, they have established several smaller specialized sectors. However, in some localities--such as the Skoda plant in Ostrov nad Ohri--they are still convening production consultations for up to 100 workers at once. Many hours of discussion would be necessary if everyone were to state his opinion and this time is not available.

Exacting evaluation has not yet become a system activity of all trade union organs and organizations. It is not easy for the functionaries to admit that though the established methods and style of work--whether established by themselves or taken over from their predecessors--may agree with them, they do not agree with the entire collective and do not serve the cause. If we want to improve the overall work of the trade unions, we have to look more closely at good working practices and those which do not fulfill the wants of the present time, as well as those showing unused resources. This requirement prevails especially now, since it is necessary to stimulate work initiative and to create an unconciliatory atmosphere toward all deficiencies.

The seventh plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions made the trade union organs in plants liable for evaluating--together with the economic management--the situation at the worksites. A businesslike and well qualified analysis, rather than a superficial glance, will prompt choosing of methods for future activity with the goal of contributing as much as possible for ensuring fulfillment of the plan in quantity as well as quality.

Let us not forget that criticism as well as self-criticism is one of the methods of the internal trade union democracy which leads to increased action capacity. Simultaneously, it is proof of the force of the trade union organization, and its ability to detect and remove deficiencies. It expresses the effort to realize the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ congress applied to the trade union conditions by the ninth All Trade Unions Congress.

CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: IMPROVEMENT IN GDR STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Sep 79 p 1

[Editorial Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "Because They Are Needed." For additional West German commentary on the subject of GDR State-Church relations, see the following JPRS issues of this series: 73103, 28 Mar 79, No 1662, pp 87-93; 72210, 13 Nov 78, No 1607, pp 45-48; and 72193, 7 Nov 78, No 1606, pp 65-66]

[Text] Since the discussions on 6 March of last year between the church leadership and State Council Chairman Honecker, tensions have decreased in the relations between the state and the Protestant Church in the GDR. The worst pressure has been removed from church members. Not only has the climate been improved, the Protestant Church has also succeeded in its discussions with the state in clarifying a few points in its favor. On the other hand, a year and a half later it has also become clear what the limitations of the arrangements are which the state was forced to make because it depends on the cooperation of the Christians in developing socialism. Because they are convinced that the atheistic state can ultimately not grant true equality to believing Christians, many Christians-- and not only ordinary church members--are beginning to become resigned [to the facts] when they think about the future of Christians and church in socialist societies.

In contrast to the Catholic Church, which has to a large degree gone into isolation and does not think much of such arrangements with the state, the leadership of the Protestant Church Federation of the GDR has decided in favor of a dialog with the state. The church leadership believes that only in this way could tensions be decreased between the atheistic state with its totalitarian claims and a church which on the basis of its own self-appraisal will not give up its responsibility "to follow with attentive and responsible participation and, if necessary, to comment on events and developments in a society to which it knows it belongs." Thus, the Protestant Church in the GDR has courageously taken a position against the introduction of compulsory military instruction in public schools, and has also criticized the recent intensification of political trial procedures. At the same time, it has also become clear that there

are limitations to the claim of the Protestant Church to be able to express its opinion publicly when it differs from government policy: "The synod cannot be resigned to the fact that through delay or refusal of the permission to print the flow of information is being obstructed or interrupted," says a decision of the Church Federation Synod, which recently met in Dessau.

In spite of several disappointments, the Protestant Church wants to pursue its dialog with the state, of which State Secretary for Church Affairs Seigewasser said flatteringly in Dessau that in this dialog each party is now respecting the identity of the other and that both sides had gone through a learning process. As the result of the state-church discussions, churches and community centers could be constructed in new housing developments, old church buildings owned by the church could be restored--whereby the work was mostly financed by Western churches, and that always means foreign currency earnings for the state. After long, tenacious negotiations in which time and again suggestions on church personnel were rejected, 17 prison ministers are now allowed to serve in penal institutions. Church kindergartens were made exempt from sales taxes, the church receives rent for its land used by socialist agriculture, old age pensions for church employees are soon to be given satisfactory regulations. GDR television occasionally broadcasts church information programs, and a small group of leading churchmen has been promoted to so-called "travel cadres" and is now permitted to travel to the West. But already ministers and church members are asking whether ecumenical contacts should be reserved for leading personalities. Their frequent absence might not result in sufficient attention to essential innerchurch problems, as the Federal Synod in Dessau diplomatically suggested.

In the school and educational systems, where the disadvantages of Christians show up most clearly, some improvements have been made since the discussions in March. Christian children are now admitted to extended high schools and even to university study. But still, a caricature of the church and the Christian faith is, as before, offered in the curriculum, and Christian children rarely experience the equality of rights and respect invoked by Honecker. Equal opportunities are not even a topic of discussion: leading position in the state, industry and society are, now as before, closed to active Christians who have not joined the East CDU. The SED, which considers itself the "leading power," does not permit coresponsibility of Christians in leading functions. Prospects for the future of children who have received a Christian education and are now permitted to attend universities are not overly positive: because of their faith they will still remain second-class citizens.

The Dessau Synod has given a precise description of the situation: "In our society there exists a relation of tension between the principle of equal rights, equal respect and opportunities for all citizens regardless of their world view on one hand, and the stated educational aims of the communist personality in all walks of life on the other. This tension can,

in principle, not be solved." In other words: the atheistic socialist state cannot permit "ideological coexistence" between Marxists and Christians. On the basis of the appraisal of its own importance, the socialist state cannot renounce its totalitarian claims. As long as the state needs Christians and churches it will seek to come to some arrangement with them. But how long will it need them? How long will the church be able to preserve its identity?

8889
CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY, SPECULATIONS ON GDR AMNESTY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Sep 79 p 8

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum (Berlin): "GDR Amnesties Are Not Unusual--This Time Political Prisoners Will Be Released--Hopes for Bahro"]

[Text] In reply to the request by the GDR correspondents of the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU for additional information concerning the amnesty decree, the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs briefly stated that the text published was sufficiently informative. An additional inquiry concerning the objectives and the names involved met with a blunt "no."

On Tuesday afternoon, shortly after 4 pm, ADN--the state news agency--circulated a telex report concerning the "State Council Decree of 24 September 1979 Concerning an Amnesty on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the German Democratic Republic." Amnesties are not unusual in the GDR; since the establishment of the second German state, there have been quite a few such general pardons: From the amnesty law of November 1949 to the last amnesty 7 years ago. With the exception of the amnesty law, the amnesties were always announced--as has also been the case this year--at the anniversary of the establishment of the GDR; and each time, several thousand prisoners were released.

The last amnesty was decreed by the State Council in 1972, on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary. Its wording approximates this year's amnesty, even though in regard to some passages there are considerable differences. At that time, 31,321 prisoners were released, including 6,200 individuals held in custody pending trial. The GDR authorities permitted 2,087 prisoners, i.e. every 15th, to leave the country for West Germany.

Even though the Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls the text sufficiently informative, many questions remain unanswered. For in comparison with the amnesty 7 years ago, the State Council now has reserved to itself more latitude in regard to the implementation of the decree. Thus one cannot be absolutely sure as to whether Rudolf Bahro, the SED functionary who was arrested 25 months ago, will be released. In 1979--as was also the case in 1972--certain offences are excluded from the amnesty.

The stumbling block in this year's decree are the words "especially serious crimes such as." For this means that the GDR has reserved to itself the option to include other offenses besides murder and crimes of violence in the category of "especially serious crimes." This category will probably include sex crimes and manslaughter. It is impossible to predict whether political crimes such as sabotage or "gathering of information" will be included as well. Nor is it clear from the text whether the seriousness of a crime is assessed in accordance with the penalty provided by law ("for life") or in accordance with the sentence actually passed by the court.

Nevertheless, Rudolf Bahro, who last June was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment for allegedly having "gathered information," is most likely to be released within the next 3 months. Likewise, Nico Huebner, sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment on account of "refusal to do military service" and "subversive contacts," will soon walk out of the prison gates. The SED is aware of the fact that should Bahro remain imprisoned the entire amnesty would quickly be discredited in the eyes of the public and would fall flat.

Will the GDR release the escape helpers, i.e. those FRG citizens who were sentenced in accordance with the GDR laws concerning "subversive smuggling of people"? At present, a little under 350 FRG citizens are imprisoned in the GDR, most of them on account of having rendered assistance to individuals fleeing the GDR. If "subversive smuggling of people" is classified with murder and crimes of violence as a serious offence, their hopes will be disappointed. But if the GDR goes by the severity of sentence passed, most of the imprisoned escape helpers can be expected to be released.

However, there is yet another stumbling block. For likewise excluded from the amnesty are those individuals who "have a record of previous convictions." This applies at least to some of those escape helpers who on account of criminal offences had been sentenced to imprisonment in the FRG, who after their release had thought to be able to make a lot of money by helping people to escape from the GDR and then landed in a CDR jail. However, this category had been excluded in 1972 as well. According to the Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations, among the escape helpers released at that time there were quite a few who had previously been convicted in the FRG.

The amnesty represents another attempt on the part of Erich Honecker and the SED to put their best foot forward, since in the last few months they had imposed some heavy burdens on the population--what with the tightening of the criminal code and the candid admission of economic difficulties. The amnesty provides the GDR's top man with an opportunity--the first chance in a long time--to demonstrate that in keeping with the SED promise displayed on all banners from Ruegen to Rennsteig "man is the focus of concern in socialism."

However, amnesty--in the sense in which the word is commonly used in the West--is not really the right term for the decree passed by the State Council: For while in the West amnesty means "remission of punishment," the decree stipulates: "If within 3 years an individual pardoned is again convicted of a

premeditated crime, the formerly suspended sentence is to be carried out to boot." In other words: There is no remission of punishment; rather, the individual concerned is put on 3-year probation.

In conversations, some East Berliners have been expressing satisfaction about the release of the political prisoners. With regard to the criminals, they add: "Fifty percent of them will anyway be rounded up again." For the majority of those who in 1972 were to be reintegrated into society relapsed after only a few months. This time, the decree stipulates--probably in view of past experience--"thorough preparation" of the reintegration process. The 1972 amnesty decree did not contain this passage.

It is difficult to predict how many prisoners will be allowed to leave their cells; for "the new, the socialist Germany" (as Erich Honecker recently put it) does not disclose the number of individuals imprisoned. According to Western sources, there are 30,000 to 35,000 prisoners, 3,000 to 4,000 of whom are considered political prisoners. Observers expecting 25,000 prisoners to be released in the next 3 months are not likely to be disappointed, even though this time the amnesty does not include any prisoners on remand.

The amnesty will benefit above all those GDR citizens who after the beginning of the dialog between the two Germanies 10 years ago had placed excessive hopes on a liberalization of the SED state; for they had not taken into consideration that the opening up in the field of foreign affairs could be followed by a domestic blocking--a miscalculation that for quite a few citizens resulted in many years of imprisonment.

At the same time, the amnesty is producing an important side effect in regard to the inner-German dialog, an effect probably intended by the SED. Once Bahro and Nico Huebner are released, once the prisons in the other German state have emptied--at least for the duration of the next few months--one crucial aspect of the "overall situation" harped upon in West Germany will have improved: As compared to the situation a few weeks ago, there would be many fewer obstacles to a GDR visit by the West German chancellor; and that East Berlin would welcome a GDR visit by Helmut Schmidt--the public show of indifference notwithstanding--is an open secret here.

8760
CSO: 2300

ISSUES OF MANPOWER MANAGEMENT DISCUSSED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 8-9, 1979 pp 9-10

[Article by Dr M. Mihaly Huvosvolgyi, senior member, Department of Economics of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]: "Current Issues in Manpower Management"]

[Text] It has often been said recently that the orderly and balanced development of the national economy requires improvement of the efficiency of labor, rising labor productivity and better balance between the demand and supply of labor. This requirement was underlined by a number of resolutions but the required improvement did not occur. There has been a slight reduction in the demand for labor but demand still exceeds the supply. The implementation of resolutions aimed at more efficient utilization of available manpower is proceeding at a snail's pace. It is difficult to change obsolete attitudes and practices that people have grown accustomed to. For a long time, economic units have enjoyed a convenient situation: to obtain more manpower, they only had to put in a request for it. The workers also considered it natural to be able to choose from a number of available jobs.

The sources of new manpower which were believed to be inexhaustible have now been exhausted. This past belief led to a lessened emphasis on improving labor productivity and to a loosening of performance requirements. The almost exclusive source of manpower replacement consists of young people freshly entering the labor force. This manpower source, however, is barely sufficient to make up for natural attrition and, in some years, it is too small even to do that.

Deficiencies inherited from earlier times of abundant manpower, lack of labor and production organization, insufficient productivity, lack of labor discipline and the resulting idle time are still having an effect. The statistics prove, beyond any doubt, that manpower availability will not increase in the near future. Although the total population increases every year, the working-age population is declining due to the continuing aging of the general population. If we consider the manpower situation in the light of an increasingly complex economic situation and rapidly changing market demands, it is clear what needs to be done: available manpower must be managed in a better and more rational manner.

Efficient utilization of manpower became even more urgent in a period of product structure modernization. At present, when we must conform to the requirements of the domestic and international markets by stopping the production of certain uneconomic goods and shifting to the economical production of new, up-to-date products which can measure up to higher demands, we can satisfy these increased requirements only through the elimination of factors that represent an obstacle to labor efficiency and improved productivity.

Product structure modernization have important implications for manpower management. The production of new, up-to-date goods changes the earlier qualitative and quantitative requirements applying to the labor force. Some enterprises need a smaller workforce with different professional requirements while others are increasing production, creating new jobs and hiring new employees. If, in addition, we consider that some enterprises have excess labor while others are facing shortages even without product structure modernization, the solution becomes clear: labor shortages must be made up by using the excess labor available elsewhere. There are two ways to do this: either take the work where the manpower is, or direct manpower to fill existing shortages in jobs where they can be more efficiently employed.

The mobility of the workforce among the various sectors and jobs within the national economy is a natural process. It is the vehicle of manpower redistribution and qualitative exchange of labor in accordance with changing demands. However, the source, direction and the scope of this process are very important. In 1972, for example, the turnover rate in the socialist sector was 34 percent, i.e., more than one third of all workers changed jobs within one year. In certain sectors of the national economy the rate was even higher, exceeding 50 percent. Labor turnover has decreased in recent years but it continues to be rather high. Excessive and unjustified manpower mobility is just as damaging as the preservation of a bloated payroll.

The mobility of manpower may be regulated by both direct and indirect means. Indirect means of regulation have been and continue to be more important; this is, however, not efficient enough. This is the main reason why the large scale manpower mobility in the beginning of the 1970's failed to satisfy national economic requirements and has, in fact, exacerbated the contradictions and tensions in manpower management. Workers were attracted to enterprises which were able to pay higher wages and bonuses or provided better social services. The system of economic regulators provided incentives for enterprises to hire low-paid employees and keep unneeded workers: in this way, they were able to avoid the payment of substantial progressive taxes levied on enterprises with excess wage levels.

Aside from the continuing natural mobility of labor which has always existed and will continue to exist, although its size may change, we must pay more attention to the people whose jobs are eliminated due

to the national economic interest and for whom another job must be found. There are some in this group who will look for a new job on their own, relying on their right to freely seek employment. This type of manpower regrouping also needs assistance. The greatest care and attention is needed in the case of those who have to be redirected toward other jobs and industries in an organized fashion. Past experience shows that a substantial part of the manpower freed as a result of product structure modernization or other measures will continue to be employed within the same enterprise doing other jobs at some other site. At the same time, they are being retrained and receiving assistance in adapting to their new jobs. Some workers cannot be employed within the enterprise. The organized transfer of manpower between enterprises is the task of the economic organizations which have jurisdiction in the matter. However, they require the help of social organizations, including trade unions, during the preparation and implementation phase. The most interested parties, i.e., the workers themselves, cannot be left out of the preparations. The workers cannot be transferred to other areas without participating in the preparation phase and receiving timely information regarding the purpose, aim and the necessity of the decision. Experience shows that good preparation is extremely important. In cases where workers are informed too late or in an insincere manner, the way opens for guesswork and anxiety throughout the enterprise.

Naturally, there will be problems even in cases when there has been good preparatory work. Those who feel that they are doing a good job and there exists mutual satisfaction between employee and employer, are reluctant to change jobs. This is understandable. It is difficult to accept that the job has been eliminated, maybe the whole plant is shutting down, one must leave the environment one has grown accustomed to, including co-workers who had been together over a long period, and that one must find employment elsewhere, under different and unfamiliar conditions.

With regard to the organized transfer of manpower, it has been asked whether it is in conflict with the right to work which is guaranteed by the constitution to every citizen who is able to work. The right to work is not the right to any specific job. One of the great achievements of our socialist development is full employment, whereby each citizen who is able to work has an opportunity to do so. Not everyone, however, will work where he wants, doing the job he wants. Just think of some fashionable professions which have large number of applicants who cannot be admitted because the national economy needs only a certain number of people with a particular job skill. The needs of the national economy and the individual cannot be reconciled in each and every case. There is no guarantee, now or in the future, that everyone may continue to work in the same job that he started until the end of his life, or that he will always be able to pick a job which, in his judgment, is most favorable for him. One consequence of progress is that certain workers are forced by economic necessity to change jobs and even professions in some cases. This is a natural process and there is nothing specifically Hungarian about it. The workforce everywhere must adapt to changing economic requirements.

Organized transfer of workers is also helped by decrees. Decree No 7/1976 (10 April) of the Ministry of Labor on the redirection of manpower says that manpower freed as a result of changes in the product structure, rationalization of operations or measures taken by supervisory authorities must be transferred in an organized fashion. There exists also a resolution requiring that workers must be retrained in cases of manpower regrouping carried out in the interest of the national economy. The costs of this must be borne by the receiving enterprise. If workers cannot reach set wage levels during the training period at their new workplace, they must receive wage supplements for the transitory period.

Professional training and retaining are very important for the job skills of workers transferred to new jobs. Their adaptation is made easier if they possess a basic skill which enables them to acquire new knowledge much more rapidly. The role of flexible job skills requiring identical or almost identical basic knowledge is growing within job training. When workers possess this type of knowledge they are able to learn several skills and they can become valuable employees much more rapidly when they enter new jobs.

The current importance of manpower management is shown by the fact that the leadership of SZOT - the Council of Ministers have dealt with the subject during their recent conference. They paid special attention to present-day problems of manpower regrouping. They stated that increasing the efficiency of manpower utilization is a key task following the exhaustion of new sources of labor. Improved manpower management is made more urgent by the fact that in some areas more people are employed than necessary while in other areas there is a labor shortage as a result of low efficiency and lack of organization.

Trade unions have a great responsibility in the preparation and implementation of organized manpower regrouping. Special attention must be paid to carrying out the required manpower transfers in accordance with our laws by taking into account the interests of workers, within the limits of what is possible. Concentrated attention must be given to those who are doing a good job in a disciplined manner and to those who are under the protection of our laws. Trade unions are supporting the manpower transfers carried out as a result of national economic requirements and provide help in assuring that in all cases, they proceed in accordance with our socialist principles.

9164
CSO: 2500

'POLITYKA' REPORTS WHAT ITS READERS SAY ABOUT IT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Michal Radgowski]

[Text] The Lufthansa Airline Company publishes in the Western press advertising slogans taken from favorable opinions of its customers. I wonder whether such a slogan praising POLITYKA might not be a sentence enunciated in the annual poll by one of its readers: "You spare nobody, not even yourselves."

Of course, it will be difficult to justify this opinion, and, on the other hand, it will be easy to disprove it--as is the case with almost every advertising slogan; it is characterized by a great degree of friendliness toward the periodical and a fair amount of wishful thinking. "He who likes this periodical can find everything in it--presented in the best style," writes another reader. Does sentiment blind the spectator, or does it illuminate the object of seeing?--here is the question. The emotional plane is important and it is benefitting to thank all those participants in the poll who supplemented their opinions by good wishes for the editors, often accompanied by a defiant "Hang on!". But, really, the question is not that of sentiments but of more serious matters. "Lack of a definite profile, lack of courage, of adherence to principles, besides engaging in apologetics"--thus formulates another poll participant in his complaints against POLITIKA. In some respect, this opinion is standard for the group of "dissatisfied ones"; others are more specific about what has been said here in a general way. A similar type of opinion at the other extreme, "Universality of interests, reliability of information, great objectivity, high level of the editorial staff," includes at least the majority of the components of a positive evaluation. It was so in every poll; in this year's poll, as I believe, this polarity has intensified. There are more respondents who decidedly criticize or praise, and there has been a decrease in the middle group, that is, of people who juxtapose the faults and merits of the periodical in order to arrive, by means of points, at some average.

Close to 2,000 persons responded to the poll. This is not a large total in relation to the number of readers of the periodical; however, it is large enough to make one realize the diversity of attitudes, moods, and opinions that are characteristic of a part of our intelligentsia. Nearly every concrete observation about POLITYKA is conditioned by a general attitude toward the periodical, by a certain accepted general premise.

Thus, there are readers who regard the periodical as a "commercial firm," a center which grows in accordance with internal arrangements and depends on the talent and zeal of the editors, and is responsible and "morally worthwhile" to the public. They emphasize the role of the chief editor, to whose publications they devote much attention; they ascribe to him initiatives as a result of which the periodical grows or declines. A far more numerous group evaluates the editorial staff as a link in the propaganda activity of the Party, where besides individual initiative and talent, the directives and instructions of the leadership are also taken into account; those belonging to this group have a tendency to evaluate the periodical against the background of other competing editorial staffs; with this end in view, they read "comparatively" almost all the serious periodicals. There are still others who regard POLITYKA as a privileged status supposedly consists in being better informed, in a greater freedom for publications which are of a debating or controversial nature, and even, as several poll participants have asserted, in not being subject to censorship (which is not true--POLITYKA is published along the same lines as other periodicals). Here also is emphasized the role of the chief editor as a member of the Party echelon, and his voice is regarded as particularly significant.

This division is reflected in the opinions. Someone who views POLITYKA in an isolated manner, looks for the merits and faults of the periodical in the activity of the editorial staff itself. The periodical lacks courage because the editors have little courage; the articles are boring because they merely describe facts instead of "giving recommendations on how to improve the situation in our country." Those who view POLITYKA against the background of other periodicals as well as of propaganda institutions, are inclined to "water down" and divide the responsibility of the editorial staff, saying that it alone created the merits but that others also contributed to the faults. Here are assessed certain general possibilities and background elements, e.g., the general level of the press and its relation to life, and it is only against the background of these possibilities that an opinion about a particular newspaper is pronounced. For the readers from the conventional third group, POLITYKA is a very responsible part of socio-political reality and an attitude toward it is a function of an attitude toward that reality.

Among the readers there are maximalists and minimalists. "You point out problems well, that is, you make a diagnosis but the situation is worse with regard to concrete proposals for treatment," wrote one of the poll

participants. A maximalist wishes the periodical to be omnipotent, omniscient, a kind of tribunal and brain trust at the same time. With such expectations, the reckoning turns out very badly. POLITYKA does not write "the whole truth," does not uncover all the diseases, etc. As the minimalists assert, "it says all it can say." "You utilize, in principle, all the polemical possibilities in cultural and social matters," someone writes flatteringly. His expectations are lesser, more moderate. Someone else does nothing but wait: POLITYKA is excellent. Within 2 days of its appearance I have read it already, and I impatiently await the next issue." Such opinions sweeten somewhat the bitterness of reading other polls where each question pertaining to the merits, level, and "internal loyalty" has been answered with an energetic "No!". Fortunately, there are only a few such polls.

The readers are either well informed or less informed. This is also reflected in their attitude toward the periodical (About this writes the author who prepared the poll, Jerzy Diatlowicki). There are those who find it easy to use other sources of information, who know foreign languages, who often go abroad, who read [foreign] periodicals in press clubs, who listen to foreign broadcasts, etc. Their life, then, is spent in comparing, synchronizing, and controlling the collected information. For this they also need POLITYKA. They reflect on the selection being made in it, they perceive what has been accentuated and what has been passed over. They evaluate, then, the periodical against a very broad background: that of the world, socialist, and Polish press. The opinions are often flattering, although here we more often encounter the charge of lack of timeliness, and of silence or tendentiousness. Let us add that the complaints are made less serious with regard to foreign affairs. The greatest number of reservations is caused by the manner of presenting internal problems, to which I will return.

There are readers who are less oriented but better-read. POLITYKA is for them one of the first-rate sources of information, but not the only one; when something more interesting appears in KULTURA or PERSPEKTYWY, they regard it as a defeat "by points." The most numerous group, however, are those who put in the periodical "all their hopes of information," who have neither the time nor the opportunity to follow other periodicals except the daily ones, frequently the afternoon newspapers. This group expects much of the editorial staff, and tends to forgive it a lot. "you are good; only do not rush into personal polemics, etc., keep your distance, it's time!"--this probably has been written by someone from this group. He desires serious, educational things, and regards personal polemics as secondary and camouflaging.

It is interesting that the opinion of the editors is almost always different. They think that an interesting issue should abound in polemics, that this is its zest and vigor. A similar opinion is held by more mature, "worldly" readers, who make out different allusions, or by those who imagine that they indeed have found such allusions. There are many such

contradictions between various likes and dislikes; often it is impossible to resolve them. It is necessary to antagonize someone. This contradiction between the instructional, educational function of the periodical and its journalistic and aggressive role, is clearly manifested in the various demands presented by the poll participants.

It is beyond doubt that the moral and political outlook of a periodical is determined to a large extent by its manner of elucidating social, domestic problems. Similarly to the previous polls, the overwhelming majority of the readers have stated that of most interest to it are social problems (in the second place they have mentioned economic problems, then foreign, political, and cultural problems); the same majority have asserted that social problems are given the fullest treatment in the periodical. Unfortunately, this concept seems highly ambiguous and, at any rate, very broad. If it is to be derived from the word "society," then it includes almost everything--also economics, culture, and politics. Someone, when writing about social problems, may have in mind, for example, city transportation, and someone else may mean differences in wages or the effects of a definite model of administration. Politics, economics, and society's life are the de facto components of that set of social problems. It seems that the majority of the readers gives priority to politics, that is, the decisions of the authorities, their execution, the effects of definite moves, the responsibility for mistakes, etc.

In relation to the previous polls (1975, 1977), the number of complaints against POLITYKA has clearly increased: most often it is the question of lack of more profound criticism with regard to harmful phenomena in economics and society's life. "There is lack of criticism of abuse of Party cards and posts occupied for private gain," writes one of the readers, a Party member. "There is lack of articles criticizing by name the people who are responsible for incompetent decisions," writes another. Very often, more serious charges are formulated: POLITYKA in the opinion of the poll participants, not only refrains from criticizing harmful phenomena but also becomes apologetic with regard to different moves which do not prove themselves in practice. What are these matters of great importance? Economic difficulties--the respondents reply--the manner of getting out of them, the establishment of better economic mechanisms, improvement of relations among people which have been fouled up as a result of various shortages, of favoritism, of bribe-taking. Paradoxically, this economic and social theme intrudes in a brutal manner into most innocent replies of the poll, as we find out that many readers buy the periodical through connections or overpaying and that, on the other hand, the inefficiency of the printing industry causes many copies to be simply illegible. It seems that many readers who formerly believed that 'POLITYKA' somehow intellectually "dominates the situation," that "it has some concepts," have lost that faith; there are those who at best thank us that "we do not treat them as fools." This is, however, a compliment that does not stir our hearts. Even keener are the observations of those who accuse the periodical of "insincerity" and even of disloyalty. A characteristic example is the evaluation of the discussion "Firmly to Nowhere."

This discussion, which caused much ado, has been mentioned by 227 readers as the best remembered material. (The other discussions mentioned are, in this order: M. Wesolowska, "Too Late in Life," "The State vs. the Church" by M. F. Rakowski, "Unbelief" by H. Krall, and the editorial about the election of John Paul II.) They criticized not the discussion itself (about the possibility of using unemployment as a factor inducing the employed ones to work effectively), which they assessed as "sharp" and "timely," but J. Urban's summation which polemized with the initial thesis of several directors. "You have showed cowardice; you have lost face," "We do not agree with the summation," "The cycle has not ended, unfortunately, with a serious recapitulation." "Why was the discussion ended with one very weak article which did not take a clear stand," "A clinical example of simulating a sharp discussion about most important matters," "A clumsy summation and probably an insincere one" - here are a number of opinions on this topic. As can be seen, the charges are partly of a moral character: the discussion was summed up insincerely, the editorial staff demonstrated hypocrisy, the author of the summation used evasive tactics, etc. I allow myself to believe that if J. Urban decided in favor of unemployment, many respondents would be just as harsh in their criticism. This whole affair with "Firmly to Nowhere" leads to at least two conclusions: 1. in the opinion of the readers, discussability is an independent value, especially when serious topics are involved ("'POLITYKA' is afraid of a discussion with the [policy-making] "circles" and is always "for" - complains one of the poll participants). 2. the problem of administration in [state-owned] business, of the utilization of the labor force, of the evaluation of the employee, of order on the job, etc. are generally important and touchy. It is no wonder: all of us work somewhere. Or else we loaf, living at other people's expense. A third conclusion, of a self-critical nature, can be also added: there is a lack in 'POLITYKA' of discussions with an equal social carrying capacity, that is, not specialized, concerning the status of the working man and his place in society's life.

With all the charges addressed to the periodical, which I have pointed out in a foreshortened manner, what surprises us is the contents of the table representing opinions about the level of 'POLITYKA.' Well now, 66 per cent of the poll participants have stated that the periodical has maintained its level (i.e., about 8 per cent more than in the previous poll). Very many respondents, while mentioning various complaints about the periodical, have entered this apparently contradictory opinion. The apparent contradiction may consist in the fact that while judging someone harshly and not agreeing with him in certain matters, we do not deny that he is at a certain level. Indeed, many of our critics assessed in this manner the quality of the editorial staff as consisting of good and expert professionals.

In closing, an afterthought which comes to mind during an analysis of the data concerning the readers who participated in the poll. From the beginning of the periodical's existence, that is, for 22 years now, 'POLITYKA'

has been read by 31.4 per cent among them! I put an exclamation mark after this figure because it seems eloquent to me. Almost one-third of the poll participants are people who have followed the not too brilliant beginning of our periodical and then its rapid growth, and the first attempts at reporting and political journalism by many of today's greats, such as Ryszard Kapuscinski (of course, he was with us!), Hanna Krall, Barbara W. Olszewska, Andrzej K. Wroblewski, Daniel Passent (he has held the first place for years), Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, and many, many others; veterans, who could remind the editorial staff of various successful political journalism actions and campaigns, once plentiful; people who command a vast range of comparisons and who, in evaluating the periodical, exhibit a particular knowledge of the subject. And next to this group a completely new category of readers is growing; these are young people under thirty, who have been reading the periodical now for a year to five years. These are two very different groups as far as knowledge and experience are concerned; their reactions to the periodical are also different. About the young ones wrote at length Lech Stefanski on the occasion of the previous poll ('POLITYKA,' No. 16, 1977). The differences in expectations, hopes, and demands are not entirely clear. Can one say that the "old ones" identified themselves more with 'POLITYKA' and the young ones are simply looking in it for material? This certainly would be an oversimplification. One of the readers makes some contribution to the discussion as he writes: "Surely you do not realize that a part of the young intelligentsia is slowly ceasing to be excited by what has been written in 'POLITYKA.' You continue to represent the same things; in principle you have not changed your political creed from the beginning of the periodical." This is a very interesting opinion, though not especially favorable. Certainly we would like the young members of the intelligentsia "to be excited" by what 'POLITYKA' writes--this is a good definition; probably it was so with those who are fifty at present. And the matter of the creed is not simple, either; one has to watch what is changing and how, because one can be left without anything, without the so-called backbone, not even speaking of losing one's shirt. This is, incidentally, the charge made by other opponents, who think that 'POLITYKA' too easily jumps on the various bandwagons, most obviously attaching no importance to principles.

Two sources [of information] correspond to two attitudes. One may not agree [with the findings of the poll], but it is worth knowing [what the readers think]. We thank most warmly all those who were so kind as to respond to our poll.

9476
CSO: 2600

YUGOSLAVIA

'BORBA' JUSTIFIES INCREASED ARMY ROLE AGAINST 'WESTERN SPECULATION'

[Editorial Report] On 19 October 1979 BORBA (Belgrade, page 16) announced it would publish a series of articles in the 22 to 27 October 1979 issues to counter "the false thesis about the 'politicalization' and 'militarization' of our Army" under the title "The YPA-Revolutionary Instrument of Society." The announcement, in noting that "senseless speculations are again appearing to the effect that the 'Yugoslav army is becoming ever more politicized and is preparing to undertake at a given moment a leading and decisive role in society,' said "the SFRY armed forces protect socialist self-management and also develop it further as an inalienable part of it and not something outside of it."

The first article (page 14) in this series says: "Certain reactionary groups in the West which continually, so to speak, engage in the most diverse political speculations and lies about the 'fate, the future of Yugoslavia etc. and certain persons who carry on political intrigue in our country, who are known for private ['corridor'] politicizing and coffeehouse scheming are recently again making 'predictions' and declaring: the Yugoslav army is become more and more politicized, it is preparing to undertake a...leading decisive role in society. These 'prophesies' are supported by certain 'statistical' data and proof about expansion of the army structure in the civilian sector, the party leadership, etc.

"All this is, of course, great nonsense. The leading role in Yugoslav society is held by the working class, by all the working and self-management masses of the cities and villages, headed by the LCY, as the leading ideological-political force in the political system of socialist self-management.

"On the basis of its entire historical practice of almost 38 years,... our Army has always been on the course set forth in the political program of the Party....

"Reactionary circles in the West are either engaging in political sensationalism of the cheapest kind in order in this way to attract attention (whereby they proceed from the practice, experience, concepts, and tendencies in their own systems), or are disseminating such information because they

are in the service of organizations waging special, psychological-propaganda warfare; i.e., they themselves represent such organizations or services which want in this way to bring unrest and a certain nervousness to our public opinion, that is, in short, 'to prepare the ground' for new operations later.

"Some individuals in our country who are disposed toward political scheming, who are most probably in the service of these interests, and are the tools of these method and calculations, are largely also under the pressure of their own specific, unrealized ambitions and plans.

"Of course, there is no practical sense in occupying oneself with all these speculations and in taking them too seriously. It should simply be said that such 'theses' and similar ones are not anything that could surprise us or, least of all, confuse us. Because inventions of the political underground are one thing, while facts and the living truth are something entirely different....

"The YPA and the armed forces as a whole are an internal organic, integral part of the entire system of socialist self-management and not something outside it, or standing above society, or acting independently as a separate force over society.

"Such independent action is well known to us from political history and practice in the bourgeois world, from the history of bourgeois societies which protect...and make possible the hegemony of the ruling, exploiting class over the working class, over the exploited and suppressed working masses...."

CSO: 2800

LCY NOTES RESISTANCE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 7-8, Jul-Aug 79 pp 75-83

[Excerpt from article by Jozef Smole: "The Struggle for the New International Economic Order and Activity of Local Organizations of the League of Communists." SOCIJALIZAM is a journal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)]

[Excerpt] A need has been felt for the struggle for the new international economic order to be examined specifically from the standpoint of our specific social practice. Our fundamental positions are clear. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia precisely formulated them once again in the resolutions adopted at the 11th LCY Congress. The main question, then, is the degree to which these clear positions are being implemented in the activity of local organizations of the League of Communists.

The struggle for the new economic order is of vital importance to our socialist self-managed community as well as to all the nonaligned countries and all the developing countries. It is an essential component of the broad efforts toward overall democratization of international relations and thereby for a secure world peace. Essentially we are talking about a kind of world class conflict, about a redistribution of surplus value on a world scale to the purpose of solving on a new basis those serious structural problems which affect all humanity, problems it has not at all been possible to solve within the limits of the present system of unequal international economic relations.

There is no question that the struggle for the new international economic order stands among the priority tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This follows from the entire sociopolitical orientation to which we are committed. The full unity of our domestic and foreign policy is also expressed in that orientation.

Our contribution will be all the greater if in our own communities there is an awareness that the struggle to change international economic relations is not something detached in the sphere of our foreign policy in the narrow sense of that term, but is an integral part of implementing our constitution,

the Law on Associated Labor and other laws embodying the system and that it is, then, an integral part of the overall development of socialist self-management relations. In other words, that the struggle for the new international economic order is an organic and integral part of achieving the status of workers in associated labor defined by the constitution as managers of economic relations with foreign countries.

In the interest of the greatest consistency and effectiveness in performing the major tasks set forth in the documents of the 11th LCY Congress it is of decisive importance that the alteration of international economic relations be a problem area that is always present in all local organizations of the League of Communists, and especially in LCY organizations in basic organizations of associated labor, and that the clear policy of the League of Communists be built, stated in concrete terms and realized through the decisions of the bodies of self-management. As communists we have a duty to create and nurture a social climate that will encourage in business practice adoption of specific decisions that will contribute to expansion, enrichment of the content and strengthening of our economic relations with the developing countries on a new basis and with a new content and in all business transactions with the industrially developed countries the conclusion of only those arrangements and only those transactions which truly contribute to establishment of the new international economic order. This presupposes, among other things, that in every practical domain we will wage a determined fight against all forms of economic dictation, monopoly and economic inequality. In that context it is especially important to determinedly oppose the practice which the so-called transnational companies are attempting to impose. In all our economic transactions with foreign countries we must always have before us not only the vision of the new international economic relations, but also our readiness to fight for achievement of the new world economic order in concrete terms.

In making a critical assessment of the present situation we should note that local organizations of the League of Communists are still not paying due attention to these tasks in their concrete sociopolitical activity. In any case these tasks have not been incorporated into the main direction of the everyday activity of LCY organizations.

We need to analyze the reasons for that situation and to examine to what extent they are the consequence of objective circumstances, of the incompleteness of our system above all, and to what extent they are the consequence of definite ideological points that have not been made clear, misunderstanding of the essence of the matter--a consequence, then, of definite subjective shortcomings.

In some places we encounter a certain ideological resistance to consistent implementation of all the provisions of our constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, to the transformation of our society and to the development of socialist self-management. Those forces which are resisting affirmation of the workers in basic organizations of associated labor as decisionmakers in

all domains, including the domain of economic transactions with foreign countries, are objectively obstructing associated labor from becoming more directly involved in altering international economic relations. A part of this kind of ideological resistance is to be seen in very concrete terms in the sphere of foreign exchange transactions. On a de facto basis basic organizations of associated labor are still prevented from an actual examination of the original documents and reports showing the foreign exchange income they have earned. The practice of an artificial separation into the dinar portion and the foreign exchange portion of income is continuing. Now basic organizations of associated labor are making decisions on the dinar income, while decisions on the foreign exchange income are left to someone else; that is, those who in the past have been the actual principals in foreign transactions are retaining that position. This practice is obviously standing in the way of more effective inclusion of basic organizations of associated labor in economic transactions with foreign countries, and as a consequence this practice of artificial separation of income into the dinar and foreign exchange portions is a serious factor adversely affecting the involvement of basic organizations of associated labor in creating the new international economic order.

Certainly, then, it would be unfounded and unjustified for us to cast all the responsibility onto associated labor and onto local organizations of the LCY, when we all are quite aware that many decisions on foreign trade transactions, the foreign exchange system and the like are still remote from the workers. In the interest of our broader inclusion in constructive world economic processes and of our most effective contribution to adoption of the new international economic order, it is certainly a most urgent task to authentically ensure in building the system that the worker in associated labor is the manager of economic relations with foreign countries. The League of Communists ought to be more vigorous in breaking up the resistance, conscious or inadvertent, which exists in the domain of the system governing economic transactions with foreign countries. An awareness that our contribution to the alteration of international economic relations will be all the greater if associated labor is involved as directly as possible ought to be implemented in the specific terms of more rapid removal of all obstacles.

However, there is another unacceptable opinion to the effect that today associated labor cannot become more energetically and directly involved in the struggle for the new world economic order until all the issues related to the system are resolved. I think that we must also reject extremist views of this kind, since it is clear to us all that the solutions embodying the system will never be ideal. Consequently, the realistic way is to strive for greater and more direct inclusion of basic organizations of associated labor in the process of transforming world economic relations along with alteration of the system in the domain of economic transactions with foreign countries.

It is of paramount importance to the League of Communists and to its socio-political activity that it ascertain which points of ideology are unclear so

that basic organizations of the LCY are even now not devoting the necessary attention to this transformation. That is, a more thorough analysis should be made as to why associated labor, and basic organizations of the LCY within it, do not feel the struggle to alter international economic relations, at least not to a sufficient degree, as an integral part of their true interests. I will attempt to run down just some of the points of ideology which are unclear and which we encounter, though I am aware that these remarks will fall far short of any comprehensive analysis of this complicated subject matter.

First. Quite a few of our people have the mistaken idea that the development of our socialist self-management relations is one thing, and that the struggle for the new international economic order is something altogether different, something that is separate from concrete everyday practice of building socialist social relations, something that lies in the sphere of foreign policy in the altogether strict sense of that term. Our international economic component, that is, the component of the struggle for the new international economic order, has not yet been satisfactorily incorporated as an organic and integral part of all our efforts to implement the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor and to develop the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. In my opinion this is a major ideological problem which should be a concern of the League of Communists, so that in that way it can contribute to clearing up ideas and conceptions first among party members themselves, and then through energetic activity of communists among all the working people.

Second. The economic aspect of nonalignment has still not been understood in all its dimensions. Our policy of nonalignment has been broadly and correctly understood as a policy. In this respect there are no points, at least no serious ones, that are unclear. However, the same cannot be said of the economic goals of nonalignment. We are still far from a correct and broad understanding in all our communities that the struggle for the new international economic order is in the vital interest of workers in associated labor, in the interest of our economy and in the interest of our entire socialist self-managed community. Not everyone is yet aware that the struggle for the new international economic order is the crucial area of the struggle for democratization of international relations and for ensuring world peace and social progress in the world. Nor has it been sufficiently realized in all our communities that the struggle to alter international economic relations is the principal cohesive force of the nonaligned movement. That cohesive force which ensures that the nonaligned countries will be able to overcome all mutual political antagonisms and other difficulties. I feel that in our concrete sociopolitical activity of organizations of the League of Communists we ought to strive to achieve in the broadest commitment in the struggle for the new international economic order that high degree of unity in ideology and action which we have shown and are proving once again in the struggle for respect of the principles of political equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The problems of equality in relations among communist and

worker parties and the problems of equality in relations among socialist countries were felt and are still felt by our public as an issue of vital importance, and in our struggle for those principles we always displayed an exceptionally high degree of unity in action and ideology. We have also shown this in our vigorous attitude toward the world anticolonial struggle, which we have always felt in all its dimensions as an integral part of our struggle. It is precisely this understanding of the essence and this high degree of unity in ideology and action that we ought to achieve in our direct commitment in the struggle to alter international economic relations and which all basic units of our society should feel to be an issue of vital importance.

Third. Sometimes we even encounter opinions to the effect that the economic interests of associated labor are one thing, while the struggle to implement the economic decisions of conferences of nonaligned countries are something altogether different, something indeed which is imposed on work organizations from above because of certain reasons and needs which are exclusively political. The erroneous notions about how politics is forcing work organizations to establish and develop business and other economic relations with the developing countries, to invest in those countries, to conclude agreements with them have not been eliminated in all quarters, much less completely eradicated. There is even a feeling of skepticism and reserve toward such relations. One even encounters the extreme opinion that this kind of orientation is not really in the "business interest" of work organizations.

Fourth. Another area of ideology that is unclear is manifested in the fact that the struggle for the new international economic order is frequently conceived exclusively as a matter of business and economic relations with the developing countries. At the same time the content of those relations is neglected. Due attention is not paid to the new foundations on which those relations should be built. The industrially advanced countries, and in that context the transnational companies in particular, have incomparably more highly developed business relations with the developing countries than does our country, and it is well known that by means of those highly developed relations they are striving to retain their monopoly position and dominance. Consequently, it is not merely a matter of the intensity and breadth of business relations with the developing countries, but above all of their content. In our approach, which is based on principle and takes the principles of the new international economic order as its points of departure, we must consistently strive in all our business operations to break up the old unequal relations in collaboration with the developing countries, to narrow the space for economic domination, and in this way to make a direct contribution to the alteration of world economic relations. Organizations of the League of Communists ought to make a very great commitment to clarifying the content of the new relations in ideological terms. Proper understanding that it is not merely a question of business relations with the developing countries, but of an altogether new content, has essential importance to long-term relations with those countries. We must act consistently out of

an awareness that we are building economic relations and relations in the fields of information, culture, scientific-technical affairs and other fields with the developing countries in accordance with the economic conceptions of nonalignment and in conformity with the recommendations of the two special sessions of the UN General Assembly.

Fifth. Another area of ideology that is unclear is the one-sided conception of the struggle for the new international economic order that makes it independent of world developments. All the dimensions of that struggle are not always present, especially with respect to the most highly industrialized countries. Yet it is in relations with those countries that the principal and most difficult struggle is being waged. Often there is not sufficient realization in specific behavior that the struggle is being waged both in a bilateral framework as well as in a multilateral framework and both in relations with the industrially developed countries as well as in relations with the European Economic Community and with CEMA and the other multilateral economic groupings. I feel that the following essential observation contained in a resolution of the 11th LCY Congress is not sufficiently in evidence in our concrete activity: "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions and our other sociopolitical organizations will support efforts for all the progressive political forces in the world to become involved in opening up a dialog about these issues between the working classes of the industrially advanced countries and the developing countries."

Sixth. There is also the mistaken idea that implementation of the economic decisions of Colombo (Fifth Conference of Nonaligned Countries) is the exclusive concern of bodies and agencies of the Federation, the republics and the provinces, but not a concern of organizations of associated labor. There is no question that bodies and agencies of the Federation, the republics and the provinces do have their own very large and particular obligations in implementing the decisions of Colombo. And it must be stated self-critically that they have not been persistent enough in implementing those decisions, that is, that much more ought to have been done regardless of the many objective difficulties. However, with all due respect for the large obligations of those bodies and agencies, it remains an indisputable fact that there can be no true progress until associated labor becomes directly involved in implementing the economic decisions of conferences of nonaligned countries. This realization is not sufficiently in evidence in all quarters. Organizations of the League of Communists ought to make a much more vigorous commitment to altering the climate in organizations of associated labor so that the workers feel that it is in their vital interest that their work organizations be involved more energetically in altering world economic relations and so they fight in their specific economic practice to implement the basic economic decisions of conferences of nonaligned countries.

These in my opinion are some of the unclear ideological points which organizations of the League of Communists ought to deal with, ensuring through their effort toward ideological clarification that a vigorous attitude is

adopted in solving these major problems. Through sociopolitical action an ideological change of course should be achieved in all communities of our society and in basic organizations of associated labor in particular. The business policy, the planning and the business operations of organizations of associated labor must always embody the strategy of the struggle for the new international economic order and, within the same context, the specific resolutions of the Fifth Conference of Nonaligned Countries. To summarize, they consist of the following:

Reliance on the developing countries' own resources is the guarantee that the new international economic order will be built. The developing countries must be firmly resolved to safeguard their legitimate economic rights in international affairs through their collective strength in negotiations. Advantage should be taken of the large opportunities for collaboration among the nonaligned countries in the fields of finance, technology, trade and industrial development. It is a mistaken idea that the developing world consists exclusively of economies similar to one another, since the developing countries possess a variety of resources and stand at differing levels of economic development. Joint mechanisms should be built so that the developing countries as a whole make use of those things whereby they complement one another, their resources and capabilities, and this should be done in such a way that it is in the common interest of economic progress. The principle of reliance on one's own resources is for each separately and for all together in conformity with the goals of the new international economic order, and at the same time it is very important to strengthening the solidarity of the nonaligned countries and the other developing countries in their struggle for independence. In the strategy of international economic cooperation and in affirming relations among them the nonaligned countries should broaden their relations with other states, both with the advanced capitalist states and also with the socialist states, always mindful, of course, of respect for national sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. In the building of the new international economic order particular attention should be paid to creating the new monetary and financial system which will be an integral part of the new order. It is therefore indispensable to develop institutions and mechanisms for financial cooperation among the developing countries so that financial flows among them become stronger, more economical, more varied and harmonious, and so that they reinforce their ability to rearrange the international monetary system in negotiations with industrially advanced countries. Agreements are needed concerning the collection and systematization of data on financial flows and on the policy of bilateral and multilateral financial cooperation among the developing countries. Compensation currencies need to be found which would rely on the economic capabilities of the nonaligned countries and the developing countries. The formation of multinational enterprises is one of the forms of cooperation in expansion of commodity trade, economic cooperation and transportation. There is a need for mutual conferences of the developing countries who are producers and users so as to ensure mutually acceptable prices and terms for mutual purchases and sales, so as to strengthen in that way their control and sovereignty over their own natural resources, means of

production, transportation and trade. Utilization of the present and future technical capabilities of the developing countries, including studies of the usefulness of specific investment projects and preinvestment analyses, as well as the awareness that cooperation is possible in specialized technical programs constitute an integral part of very important efforts. We should point to cooperation in development of contacts between national and regional centers for transfer and development of technology. The opportunities are very broad for cooperation among scientists and specialists of the developing countries, which will contribute to strengthening joint strategy for cooperation in science and technology.

I have intentionally dwelled on a broad coverage of the economic declaration and action program for economic cooperation of the nonaligned countries which were adopted at the conference in Colombo. I have done this because I feel that it is very important for the broad sociopolitical activity of organizations of the League of Communists in overcoming certain ideological misconceptions that there both a strategic conception of the struggle for the new international economic order and also the specific resolutions of the conference of the nonaligned countries. Insofar as the League of Communists manages to achieve ideological shifts in our organizations on this basis, insofar as it manages to develop a social climate in which the workers will have a deeper awareness that it is in their interest for associated labor to be more energetically involved in the process of altering international economic relations, to that extent we can expect greater results.

Our orientation toward building the new international economic order is not exclusively the result of the resolutions of conferences of the nonaligned countries. Those who think that are forgetting that this commitment of ours is an organic and integral part of our sociopolitical and economic system, that it is an integral part of implementation of the principles of our constitution. This orientation of ours, which follows from the nature of our socialist self-managed society, essentially coincides with the efforts of the nonaligned countries to alter international economic relations. Consequently, implementing the economic decisions of the Fifth Conference of Nonaligned Countries, implementation of Colombo, is an integral part of realizing our own commitment as clearly defined in our constitution.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB LC PENALIZES MEMBERS IN INTERKONTINENTAL HOTEL

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 79 p 4

[Excerpts] Communists in the Zagreb-Interkontinental Hotel have concluded a discussion of several months on the situation in this collective which is said to have been very disrupted by poor self-management and interpersonal relations. The culmination of this situation was seen when information was leaked that a group of workers and specialists in this collective had organized [illegal] part-time work, valued at nearly 3 million dinars, with the Belgrade Generaleksport enterprise. The party organization discussed this several times and finally issued at the beginning of July party penalties against those it considered responsible.

But after this, the Zagreb-Centar Opstina Committee asked that proceedings be started to re-examine the decision which established the individual responsibilities and penalties because it was established that certain LC members had acted in a very unselfcritical and opportunistic way which deepened the ideological and operational disunity of the basic LC organization. After a long discussion which lasted into the night the communists of the Zagreb-Interkontinental agreed to the views regarding the individual responsibility of their members. At this time a number of accusations were made against individuals, especially those in leadership positions who were criticized most for impeding the development of self-management and for imposing their own will. They had damaged the collective and undermined its reputation through their actions in regard to distributing housing, illegally obtaining part-time work, and through other schemes, thereby causing disunity in the party organization which was reflected in the work organization as a whole.

After a lengthy discussion the basic LC organization issued ten party penalties, including one party dismissal (against the director of the legal service, Hrvoje Petrovic), four warnings, and five comradely criticisms. Opinion was divided in the party organization on the kind of penalty to be levied on Branko Jakopovic, director general of the enterprise. It was finally decided to leave this decision to the opstina party committee. Antun Zibar, secretary of the Zagreb-Centar opstina committee, said, however, that the view of the committee is that he can no longer carry out his function.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

LCY IN KOSOVO--The LC of Kosovo has more than 82,000 members organized in 2,942 basic LC organizations, 141 sections, and 144 activs; numerically it is stronger than it has ever been up to now, according to statements made at the 28 September meeting of the presidium of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC which was devoted to LC tasks in the forthcoming elections in basic LC organizations. During and after the elections, it was said at the meeting, the formation of basic LC organizations should continue in every place possible, and instead of the present unwieldy basic organizations of 100 and more members, organizations with fewer members should be formed. It is also necessary to form LC activs in many areas. [Excerpts] [Belgrade BORBA 29 Sep 79 p 3]

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